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776 rests with the eldest male of the founding lineage of the village, but the
782 whole community usually assists. There may be two guardian spirits in a village, one at the head and one at the tail of the community.

754 Witchcraft, poisoning, magical curses, oaths, and ordeals are all present in Atimelang religion, but are undeveloped or unstressed.

778 Sacred hearths of various types (*ara foka, ue ara, mani ara, je ara,*
613 *kuya ara*) belong to lineages and are kept in the lineage house when it
782 exists. They are simply four pieces of wood like those that form the
769 frame of the ordinary household hearths. The sacred hearths should be fed once a year. As food is offered the hearth, the lineage ancestors, in so far as they are known, are named. The sacrifices are usually made in February or March when the new corn crop is about to be har-
[262] vested. The owner of the hearth should abstain from a varying series of foods prior to the sacrifice.

796 At the season when the hearths are being fed, there are also four minor village ceremonies whose general function is to assure plentiful crops. They are given in the course of two months, February and March, and are in order of performance: Hopuina (spit on it), Yetok (water pours), Bol (strike), and Ading (also called Kuya, both of which are untranslatable). Responsibilities for certain duties in these ceremonies descend in the male line.

784 Connected with some of these ceremonies and with the feeding of certain hearths are quiet, or taboo (*si*), periods, during which vigorous work, shouting, and quarreling may not take place. Any breach requires
[688] a gift to the owner of the ceremony by way of atonement. Usually these taboo periods last only one day but the most important of them lasts four days and comes at the end of the dry season just before the men of the Five Villages set out for the one communal hunt of the year. During the
● 224 hunt, which is primarily for wild pig, large grass fires are set. Men stay at special hunting camps on the edge of uncultivated grasslands while the women remain quietly at leisure in the home village.

769 There are also more or less elaborate garden sacrifices to the souls of
782 former cultivators of the site. If the site is a new one, sacrifices are made to the *genius loci*, which has been disturbed. The number and size of the sacrifices depend on whether the garden (*uti*) is a small one frequently used and planted to corn, or a large field (*pining*) at some distance from the village and usually reserved for rice.

765 Death feasts, although largely financial and closely allied with prestige, may also be considered part of the religious ritual, since their ultimate objective is to dismiss the souls of the dead from the vicinity of the village. During the first ten days after death a series of obligations

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of the less desirable portions of the animal to roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which a group of boys assist grown men, is another source of food. The rats are often roasted in the fields where they are caught, and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less desirable parts. It is noteworthy that there is no institutionalized recognition of a boy's first success in hunting, as there is among many peoples. If a boy is praised at all for his successes, it is only because an indulgent adult happens to take notice of them. In any event, the procuring of the day's food is as precarious and inconsistent as the administering of discipline. Furthermore, the food secured is of the less choice kind, a factor which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child a feeling of being undervalued. It is certainly not without significance that in an autobiography like Malelaka's, where he frequently streses the good treatment he received as a child, good treatment meant being given food. It indicates that feeding is not something a child expects as a matter of course.

There is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is neither so long nor so free. They are more closely attached to their mothers and have more demands made upon them in terms of their adult role as providers for the family. Weaving baskets, sewing pandanus mats, and making bark cloth are additional skills deliberately taught girls at this time by their mothers. I knew only one woman, an orphan, who did not know how to make baskets. Interestingly enough, many boys also pick up these skills to a minor degree, but without deliberate instruction.

Girls frequently go out to the fields to work with their mothers or with companions. Also, women are responsible for harvesting and preparing food. By the time a little girl is nine or ten years old, she can cook for the ordinary family needs. She therefore has more regular access to food. I know of no instances in which little girls were guilty of pilfering from gardens, although accusations to this effect were sometimes leveled at them. Such charges, on the other hand, gave rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. This does not mean, of course, that adult women do not steal, but one might expect a higher frequency of thefts by men than by women. Out of twenty-four theft anecdotes twenty-one apply to men. In the autobiographies there are eighteen identifiable cases of theft; sixteen of these were reported by the men.

Although a girl has more regular access to food she does not have the guest privileges of the small boy. She gets no presents during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to remember her and give her a bit of meat. The meat at feasts is always

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Chapter 6

Adolescence, Marriage, and Sex

981 THE problems of adolescence are very different for boys and girls. One of the most marked differences is the greater prolongation of the period for boys. Neither sex has any ritually or socially recognized crisis rites to dramatize the passage from childhood to adulthood. It is basically an individual and personal transition that must be made. There are no men's clubs, no secret societies, no tribal initiation for boys. For girls there are absolutely no first menses ceremonies or even restrictions.

The closest approach to a symbolic recognition of adulthood offered by the society is tattooing for girls, letting the hair grow long for boys, and tooth blackening and filing for both sexes. But even these devices are casual and optional, so that the initiative must be taken by the adolescent himself. They are not utilized to further the young person's education or alter his status.

TATTOOING FOR GIRLS

● [224] 304 981 The time for girls to be tattooed is on the first day of the four-day communal pig hunt at the end of the dry season, when most of the boys and men leave the village. There is no implied sex segregation in the choice of this time, since any man who has failed to go hunting may be present during the tattooing process. In fact, men also may be tattooed, but this is done casually by some friend at any time during the year, and later in young manhood. Tattooing is rarer among men than among women. Almost all women are tattooed, whereas only an occasional man is.

The men set off for the hunt shortly after dawn, accompanied by a group of women who may not go beyond the crest of the hill. The women then return and are required to be quiet and avoid unduly vigorous activity until the men come back. Girls whose breasts are beginning to develop take this opportunity to be tattooed, but they must wait until a black column of smoke rises from the grass fired by the men for the pig drives. If they do not wait, the tattoo designs will be light and impermanent. Each girl herself expresses the wish and collects the necessary materials. These are a thorn and finely pounded coconut-shell charcoal mixed with the juice of banana bark. Some grown woman who feels that she has a certain skill in the matter will volunteer to perform the operation. The girl lays her head in the operator's lap; a

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fight through until dawn. So he didn't. My comb fell out and I couldn't find it. I was angry because my comb had disappeared. I said if I didn't find my comb I would fight right through until dawn. Then Fanmating came and said, "Here is your comb. I was saving it for you." [The implication is that he had tried to steal it.] Then Maugpada told the young men to go on dancing, to be quiet, and not to fight any more. [159x]

December 7, 1938

I want to talk of the time I lived in Awasi. There were two women and a man. The one woman gave birth to a witch and the other to a normal person. [Informant had just been telling a witch story to another person. I stopped this narration and asked him to talk about himself.]

When I went to Awasi I had a friend, Lanmai, there. Thirty of us went to the vicinity to hunt deer and pigs; we stayed there twelve days. We shot a six-prong deer. All in all there were a hundred and eighty deer killed that time. [Highly improbable.] Every night we roasted meat and ate. [He goes on about the magnitude of the hunt, about having to go all the way down to the Limbur River for water, and having to go back to the village for supplies on the fifth day.] [224]

[I asked if he had family in Awasi.] Yes, I have Female House kin there. [Question.] I was old enough to use a bow when I went there, about twenty. [Why did he go?] I met Lanmai at the trading place in Lakfui. I had had bad luck with rice here. When Lanmai asked me to trade with him, I went. Lanmai said, "Next time bring me just pandanus leaves, and my mother will make the raincapes herself." The next market day I took him pandanus leaves. He said not to go back just yet but to go to Awasi with him and pick kanari nuts. There Lanmai said, "I grew fifteen cans of rice here. Now you plant this field too. You can't go back. In good years we have lots of rice. Even rat years we get a little. Use the garden for rice." I went there in December. Corn was already growing, but we planted rice even though it was late. [Was he already married?] No. [Lanmai married?] Yes. [Still friends with Lanmai?] I still go there. I have three coconut and five areca trees there. There were six but one fell. I have already returned six times to Awasi for coconuts. When I was living there a coconut fell from a tree. I wanted to eat it, but an old man, Maikalieta, said, "Do not eat it but plant it. I am only a man and will die, but the coconut will be a tree. You will remember it and come back to it after I am dead. You will always remember a tree." [He continues with accounts of his crops there.] [223] [245]

[Why did he leave Awasi?] Because I had a garden here too, and I

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us. He said, "No, I sit between the two of you; you pass things to me and I will be your dog. I will share your food and after that you won't fight any more." He sat between us and got both the hindquarters. We ate only the forequarters.

Once all the children gathered together to hunt mice in Alurkaseni's house. We got twelve of them. We tied their legs together like those of pigs and said we had twelve wild pigs. We went to Fuhieng and shouted challenge [*maboina*]. There we built a hunting camp. We put our "pigs" on a bench and dug sweet potatoes. We made believe the potatoes were rice baskets. We roasted the mice and divided them up as men do when hunting wild pigs; each killer got the haunches. We ate and started home. On the edge of camp we shouted challenge twelve times [once for each mouse, as men do for pigs]. Manikalieta, former chief of Dikimpe, came running with a club and chased us. [Why?] Because we had made so much noise he thought we were real hunters returning.

[For the first time Rilpada seemed at a loss. What was his first memory of his younger brother, Senmani?]

Once when I was still small, Senmani got twelve boils, one after the other, on his buttocks. Seven were still unhealed. His buttocks were one large sore. Mother gave him the breast but he wouldn't drink. He wouldn't eat any other food either. Mother cried and said we had better feed her Male House's sacred hearth [*maniara*] in Atimelang. I carried all the things and mother carried Senmani. We fed the hearth but Senmani did not get well. So father divined, and this time he discovered that the cause was a pair of carabao horns that had been stolen from him at the time the village burned. Father bought another pair in Kewai and made a sacred hearth for them. We fed it a pig and a chicken. The rice and meat we brought back from the feast we gave Senmani, and he ate them. It was the first he had eaten in a long time. Then in a little while his boils began to discharge and he got well. Father said, "If we had remembered those horns the first time, he would have been well long ago. If we had forgotten them altogether, he would have died."

When Senmani's boils were better, I was a little less than twelve and staying in Atimelang [where the family had gone to make sacrifices for Senmani]. There I got a headache. Senmani's boils were already well. Mother and father took me back to Dikimpe. My head was a little better. Mother said, "I am going down to the river to fetch water and wild beans. I'll give Senmani to Marailani to mind." Mother didn't return

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said, "That must be our spirit, Mopada-Lonpada. We had better feed it." So next morning they made a mock moko string, Manifani shot a hen, and we went to the altar [of Mopada-Lonpada, in the ravine] and fed it. That night I dreamed that the same man came to me and said, "You are good. True, you burned my wife, child, and dog, but you paid a fine and you cleaned off the fields about my house. You are good." When I told the dream, Manifani said, "It is lucky we fed him, or he might have stolen your soul for two or three months and kept it until your body wasted away."

Once Padalani, a friend, called me and said he had shot a rat but it was still up in the pandanus tree. He said we had better take our dogs to fetch it. We did not find the wounded rat but we did get a live one. The dog chased it as far as Afalberka [dwelling place of an evil spirit]. We followed. The rat ran into a bamboo thicket. There was a large hole and we filled it in. It ran out, went up a liana into a large tree, came down again, and went into a patch of weeds. The dog chased it. It went in among the tree roots and from there up a liana back into the tree. We saw it sitting there. We shot at it until all our arrows were used up, but we didn't hit it. Then Padalani climbed up the tree to the first fork. I climbed the liana. When I was halfway up it was as though a person had cut it, and I fell. I was dizzy and my soul disappeared. I didn't remember anything more. It was as though I were dreaming. An old man stood near me and said, "Just now my child went to your garden for food; you too come to my garden when you are hungry. You have chased my child here. You may hunt him as far as the tree. But once he has gone up the tree you may not follow him. You see a tree but it is really a house, and my child has entered his house. You wanted to enter the house to hunt him, so I pulled up the ladder and you fell. Another time when a rat enters a tree do not pursue it. This liana is his ladder and this tree is his house." Then I returned to life and Padalani was sitting near me. He said, "I pinched your ear. I am small and if you had not come back to life I could not have carried you home."

Two days before the Yetok feast, Riemau called me to go with him to hunt bats. So I, Riemau, and his brother Lanmau went to a cave below Lawatika. Riemau and Lanmau went down below. I stood guard up above at the entrance. I saw bats hanging to the roof of the cave and prodded them with a stick. Two fell and were shot by Riemau. One flew off. Lanmau also shot one. As I was standing there, a large bat flew out of the hole, bit my breast between the two nipples, and

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food, so now fetch me some again." I gave him a corn bundle. He built a cement wall here. 159x

[Meaning of the parents' coming?] That means they or someone is surely coming. Before the nonya came I dreamed that she was coming. 159x 787
[Meaning of the bags of cement?] That means the nonya will buy a big moko. [Gathering stones?] That means the nonya is accumulating money to buy a moko. [Giving corn?] It means I have already given away the soul of my corn, so that I won't have a large crop this year. [Why were the gongs silent?] If the gongs don't beat, it means that no one will die, not even those who are sick. [Maima's asking for her comb?] This means that by and by there will be a very hot sun and no rain will fall.

We went to cut weeds, twelve of us. We were fighting in play, the boys and the girls. Fuima struck at Fanlang with a cassava stalk. Fanlang fell and hit his forehead hard, so that he had a big wound. He was dizzy. Fuima ran away to her grandparents in Bakudatang. Fanlang stayed in his house for two or three days. Then he said Fuima was to bring leaves of a certain kind to put on his wound. She did and his wound healed. Then we all worked together again cutting weeds. 159x

At that time men were burning over a small area to drive wild pigs. [224] ● Djetlang of Atimelang was killed by a person from Kalmaabui. They carried his body here, tied it to a tree, and cut the throat [i.e., cut off his head, because no slain person may be buried whole]. Then the villages of Alurkowati and Atimelang made war on Kalmaabui. They killed Lomai. Because of this we didn't go to our garden for many days. [766]

Then the people of Atimelang decided to go make war on the people of Manetati. They went past Luba. The people of Luba had made pitfalls with sharpened bamboo on the trail. Maughaka fell in and was wounded. He was carried here and died. [725]

[I brought her back to personal anecdotes by asking for relationships with relatives.] We were all cutting weeds. The men cleared a space at the top of the field so the rats could not escape. There were many rats, and each time we got one we would fight about it. We fought because some had rats and the others, who had none, wanted them. We gave them to mother and father each time we caught them. [Question.] Mother and father scolded us for fighting and playing all the time. They told us to finish cutting the weeds.

The next day . . . [here she told a similar anecdote of cutting weeds and rat hunting]. We got a great many, and they were all divided up so that each woman had two to take home in her basket.

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159 older brother, Padalani, carried me to the garden. I played all day on the threshing mat while my elders planted rice. When the planting was over and they had divided the rice baskets, mother carried the food and Padalani carried me. We got back by midday and I played with my brothers and sisters. We strung grasshoppers on strings and used them as necklaces. At nightfall we went into the house. Padalani hit me. Mailani [another brother] said, "Don't do that." When I cried, Padalani and Mailani fought. [Why was she hit?] Because I spilled some corn that Padalani wanted to parch.

[Who took care of her primarily when she was a child?] Fanlaka was too small; mostly it was Mailani who cared for me. [Whom did you take care of?] Maliema [a younger sister].

December 23, 1938

I dreamed I went to weed. My husband called, saying, "The children will weed; you come and cook." I had placed beans to leach. They were still a little bitter but I cooked them in two waters. Then the beans were good, so I boiled them with corn and fed the children. Toward evening I went home carrying all the raincapes. Then I woke up.

[787] This dream of weeding may mean that the rats will eat up all my corn.

I dreamed again that a large spate came down from Manetati. Likma, Padakalieta, and Langmai ran from it. I sat on my verandah and saw them coming. My husband did not have on his shawl, but one of the children's. They came up on the verandah and I woke up.

[787] This means a big rain will fall and people will run because they won't have their raincapes with them.

[222 224] [Her relationship to her father?] When I was thirteen or fourteen, my father and I went to the woods to get wild beans. Father took a dog with him to help hunt a pig. Father alone shot the pig. He brought the hindquarters and neck back to the village. [Question.] Kolpada and Fuikari were along too. Father cut the meat up into big pieces and divided the meat with his family. Then he invited people to eat at our house.

Once father called me to go dig sweet potatoes with him, and that evening we brought them back to the village. The next day he called me to go weed the sweet potatoes with him. I didn't do it well, so he hit my hands. When I cried he spoke nicely to me, so I went on with the weeding. In the evening I told mother that father had hit me, and

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mother was angry with father. She quarreled with him, saying, "Why did you hit your only female child?" At that time Maliema was not yet born. Mother was pregnant with her.

After my father had shot a pig, he promised to go hunting five days with some men. They shot one pig. Half of its hindquarters was set aside for the women; it was taboo [*si*]. The men could not eat it. Father gave it to mother and said to feed the hunting dogs some of the meat. Mother did not want to. She said there were too many children to feed. Father was angry and said, "That is a good dog and he must get a share of the hunt." Mother and father quarreled. Finally mother said she would not eat any of the meat. She gave me my piece, and I went out to meet my friends but ate the meat before I joined them.

Once father went to Dikimpe to get the souls of my grandparents in order to give a death feast for them. I cried to go along, so father took me and gave me a small pig to carry. After we fed the souls there, we brought them back and gave a feast for them here.

Another time father took a pig as a dowry to Karieta. I went along and carried father's areca basket. At Fiyaipe we rested. Motlaka gave us a small pig and invited us to enter the house. Later he gave us a broken gong. [She went into the details of the dowry payment.]

[She was asked to speak of her emotions.] Once father went to weed. I cried because I wanted to go with him. Father was angry and said the field to which he was going was very steep and I would fall. He chased me with a stick, so I ran back and sat on the verandah. The next day father set out again to weed. I cried to go, and father said I might go with him because he was going to a level field. He took his dog and the dog caught a rat. Father gave it to me to put in my carrying basket. Later mother came, so I gave her the rat. She cooked it and gave me some. It began raining and I had no raincape, so father said I was to sit on his back under his raincape as he squatted at his weeding. I sat on his back under the raincape as he squatted weeding.

The next day father went again to the steep garden to weed. I cried to go. He said I would fall; nevertheless he took me along and set me on a small spot of level ground while the others went down the slope to weed.

[How old when your father died?] I was about thirteen or fourteen when father died. I had already gone to live with my husband, but I had not slept with him. However, Likma and I were roughhousing together [a frequent preliminary to intercourse in Atimelang]. Father died during a good year. He had helped to cultivate a large garden, but

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Later I saw two wild pigs coming. I caught them both. Then suddenly I was near the hunting camp of Dikimpe. Mailang was hunting at this time and had shot one pig, which was red. Fanlang then saw a large female pig coming. He shot at it once and killed it. I was standing holding the two small wild pigs I had caught. The female was rushing toward me. She had almost hit me when Fanlang shot her. Then we went to Vihamuni and roasted all the pigs—the two I had caught, the one Mailang shot, and the one Fanlang shot. When we were cutting up the meat Fanlang said, "When dogs hunt they are given the backs of the necks of the pigs they catch, but you caught these yourself, so you get them." Then I went home carrying the two necks and the two hindquarters. When I arrived, Kolang asked where I had got the pigs. I told her and gave her some of the meat. [This Kolang is a childhood playmate and the wife of Atafani.] Then I asked Likma to cut up the meat and divide it among our siblings and affinal kin. We gave some to Kolpada [the wife of Langmai], Lonmai [the wife of Mailets], Helangmai, Kawaimani [the wife of Alurkoma], and Tilamau [the first wife of Manifani of Dikimpe]. They all got meat. Then I said, "Oh, Maima [her younger brother], if he had shot a pig, would give us meat, so we shall give him some of ours." Then the little that was left we cooked. I went up into the loft to fetch corn. Maima [her six- or seven-year-old son] kicked me and I woke up. I said to him, "I was dreaming. Why did you kick me?" When I awoke a pig was eating the corn I planted near the house.

[Meaning of the dream?] The pigs were evil spirits. When the trees all have new leaves and the young corn is growing, there are many evil spirits wandering about to make us sick. [Her participation in the hunt was most unfeminine behavior. Women were supposed to stay away from places where men were hunting wild pigs, and during the communal hunt they were definitely forbidden to approach the camps.]

Once when we were cutting a field at Hiengmang I went on ahead of Likma with my dog. We saw a wild pig and its piglets. The big pig ran, but the dog chased a little one and I killed it with my field knife. Maipada [then a boy of about fifteen] was along too. He chased the other piglet but didn't get it. If he had known how to shoot he probably would have got it. I hung my pig in the field house that we had built. We wanted to take the pig to Manipada's death feast at Rualmelang [her husband's village], but there was a big spate and we couldn't get there. We brought it back and fed it to Lanmakani [a familiar spirit].